



Research and Reference Service

OVERSEAS REACTIONS TO THE CUBAN SITUATION
(As of 3 p.m.)

R-133-62 (A)

October 30, 1962

This is a research report, not a statement of Agency policy

SUMMARY

Frequent references to a great diplomatic victory for the U. S. as well as admiration for the President's firmness and courage continued. But such comment often is accompanied by crediting Mr. Khrushchev with an important role in developments and in some areas Mr. Khrushchev was accredited with the prime role of "peace maker." Beneath the relief and optimism, however, comment from some areas carried strong overtones of uneasiness over future moves of the Kremlin and the inability to assess the motives behind Mr. Khrushchev's Cuban maneuvers. Hopes that the current trend towards negotiation would be expanded to other international issues, particularly disarmament, were strong in Western Europe, Japan, and Africa.

Western European comment continued to hail President Kennedy as the clearly established leader of the West. Many commentaries tempered their optimism with warnings that the Soviets' expansionist policy remained and expressed some uneasiness regarding Khrushchev's next move. All papers supported the U. N. as mediator and hoped the detente on Cuba would lead to further East-West negotiations, particularly on the question of disarmament.

In Latin America, comment continued to support the U. S. and to voice a cautious relief that tension has been eased to some extent. At the same time, comment makes it clear that the Castro regime must go and believes that the Khrushchev offer makes it obvious that Castro was a "puppet" and that as a symbol of revolution in the Americas Castro's position has been seriously weakened.

Comment from the Near East and South Asia indicates that both the U. S. and Soviet Union scored some propaganda gains. NATO allies, Cyprus, and Israel agreed that the U. S. had clearly reasserted its leadership of the Western world. In India the U. S. gained some credibility for its claims but only after Khrushchev's letter made it plain that Cuba was a satellite. At the same time, some Indian papers pointed out that might rather than right was the basis of U. S. victory but generally agreed that might is all the Communists understand.

In the Far East staunch U. S. allies maintained that U. S.

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prestige had risen -- and Soviet prestige had fallen -- as a result of the President's firm policy and the Soviet retreat. In many countries, however, there was some doubt as to the implications of Mr. Khrushchev's letter and a general wariness over future Kremlin moves. Japanese comment tended to praise everyone and to look ahead to the settlement of other cold war problems.

Spotty comment from Africa indicated differences of opinion over just who played the role of peacemaker, but tended to be uniform in expressing the hope that U.S. -Soviet understanding would be extended to the problem of third-country military bases. Algeria remained strongly pro-Cuba.

Soviet propaganda not only has decreased in volume but continues to show the inability of the vast propaganda apparatus to grasp a centrally approved line at a time when it is needed.

WESTERN EUROPE

Media continued to hail President Kennedy as the hero of "Cuba-week," and the US as the clearly established leader of the West. Many commentators, however, felt that it was too early to assess the Kremlin's motives and warned that the Soviet policy of expansion remained. Uneasiness was displayed regarding Khrushchev's next move, particularly in Germany which was worried about Berlin. Some editorials nevertheless, in Germany as elsewhere, felt that the US position in Berlin had been strengthened by Kennedy's determination in the Cuban affair. All papers supported the UN as mediator and hoped that the detente in Cuba would lead to further East-West negotiations, particularly in the field of disarmament. Some criticism was voiced regarding one aspect of the anticipated settlement: the proposed US commitment not to invade Cuba.

West European media continued to praise President Kennedy. Opinion, practically across the board, felt that he had acted with subtlety, courage and moderation, and had raised the prestige both of the US and of the Western world. "As a statesman," declared conservative Berlingske Tidende, Copenhagen, "President Kennedy can only take the first prize." This view was echoed by conservative Le Figaro, Paris, which stated: "The full significance of the event and the personal role played by the President, to whom his country owes a diplomatic victory of the first magnitude, cannot be over-emphasized." The independent press was equally laudatory. Die Welt, Hamburg, expressed this prevailing view when it stated that Kennedy's firmness and "diplomatic flexibility" had won him "unanimous appreciation of European allies, of Latin America and even Moscow's respect." Right-center Deutsche Zeitung, Cologne, in a broader view, stated: "As a world power the US, led by Kennedy, has won a clear profile." The London Daily Mail, conservative, paid tribute to "the coolness of President Kennedy and of the US as a whole," and thought that "Mr. Kennedy's stature has grown mightily." It was apparent from comment that the European allies wished to share in the triumph of firmness by emphasizing their solidarity with the US since the beginning of the crisis.

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Scepticism regarding the Soviet's rapid shift of position led many commentators to warn against too great a relaxation in the West -- the Cuba detente does not prevent Khrushchev from "putting a slow match to the world political powder-keg elsewhere." (Independent Der Abend, Berlin). Independent Information, Copenhagen, admonished: "Khrushchev has not during one Sunday become morally re-armed... Hell froze over yesterday, but it is an unnatural condition." The paper said ironically that though it was fine of Khrushchev to remove a crisis which he himself had started, nevertheless he was like "a thief who packs his tools and goes around to the back-door when the front-door has resisted his strength."

The uneasiness in Germany over Berlin found expression in several papers. The pro-CDU Rheinische Post, Duesseldorf, saw in the swiftness with which Khrushchev had abandoned Cuba a reason to fear trouble elsewhere, and questioned: "Who would not think of Berlin?" The pro-government Frankfurter Neue Presse said that though Khrushchev had "corrected his miscalculations" in the Cuban affair, further miscalculations were possible. The view that the Soviet leader could not tamely submit to such an overwhelming defeat led conservative Corriere della Sera, Milan, to state "Khrushchev has yielded to force; he may seek revenge."

By contrast, considerable comment expressed hope that Soviet aggressiveness had been halted, at least for the present. In his weekly broadcast to Berliners, Mayor Brandt viewed with satisfaction the relaxation of international tension and stated that he believed Berlin also would feel something of "the changes which were under way in the world." A leading German commentator asserted in the independent Die Welt, Hamburg, that present weapons technique made the outbreak of a war more unlikely than ever and asserted that people who expected a counter-blockade against Berlin and the outbreak of a third World War after the Cuban quarantine "are mentally living in 1914 instead of 1962." Center Il Messaggero, Rome, declared it was convinced that "Khrushchev will never in the future pass the limits of audacity and aggressiveness as he did in Cuba." In France, influential conservative Le Figaro, viewed the lesson of Cuba as applying also in Berlin. Should Khrushchev be tempted to play with fire in Berlin, the paper stated, he could not be unaware that he would "be confronted with a determination equal to the one of which he has just felt the strength."

There was strong approval of the UN as mediator. It was declared the only institution which could have facilitated contact between the two sides and which could now assure the implementation of a Cuba accord. Hopes were equally strong that in the prevailing detente mood,

UN offices would be used not only in a settlement in Cuba, but would lead to negotiations on other problems, particularly international disarmament. Opinion speculated on "opportunities that might be created by Mr. Khrushchev's change of front if not of heart," as the conservative Glasgow Herald put it. The paper continued: "Perhaps there is now a mood in which some progress might be made on Berlin... But the best prospect may be for an attempt to limit the spread of nuclear weapons and to reach the long delayed nuclear test ban agreement." The London Financial Times felt that if East and West answered "moderation with moderation, East-West negotiations in the next few months at least stood a chance of making progress." A large number of papers stressed that in Cuba the Soviets for the first time have accepted the principle of inspection and control.

Some criticism of what appeared to be a US promise not to invade Cuba in the future found expression in several papers. "But has Khrushchev really lost?" asked the Catholic People's Party Suedogt Tagespost, Graz, and continued "Now that the game has ended, there is virtually an American non-aggression guarantee for Cuba of which Fidel Castro would not even have dreamed weeks ago. Cuba remains a communist bulwark on Uncle Sam's doorstep and might tomorrow be made again as 'radioactive' as it was yesterday." The Social-Democratic Stockholms-Tidningen asserted: "Moscow can pride itself at saving Cuba for Castro -- enemy invasion is now excluded."

LATIN AMERICA

Media coverage is very heavy in the Hemisphere. The general response to the present status of the Cuban crisis is continued support of US actions and cautious relief over the passing of the high tension. The immediate reaction to Khrushchev's dismantling offer has emphasized the "puppet" theme and the weakening of Castro as a revolutionary symbol in the Americas; there is some feeling that Castro must go also. Opposition to the US has not increased nor become serious, in spite of reports that Castro supporters are trying to whip up anti-US demonstrations in the area. Cuban output declares a lack of faith in US promises.

Castro a "puppet"

Commentators in various countries felt that Latin Americans, perhaps for the first time, are coming to understand that Castro is simply "a Soviet puppet" and Cuba "an enslaved nation."

The Peruvian daily Ultima Hora asked: "Who Rules in Cuba?" and answered: "It was Nikita Khrushchev not Fidel Castro who ordered the dismantling of the rocket bases in Cuba.... Furthermore Khrushchev ignored in his letter [to President Kennedy] the demand by Fidel Castro that the US abandon the naval base at Guantanamo."

La Nacion, Chilean semi-official daily, said, "The tragic thing for the American sentiment [to accept] is the fact that Khrushchev should declare publicly that he is in a position to dispose, by and of himself, the dismantling of the Soviet rocket bases in Cuba. In consequence, the government of Fidel Castro appears in a position resembling that of [one] occupied by a foreign power." Influential Santiago El Mercurio said, "The indifference with which the Russian Governments abandon their puppets when circumstances impel them to do so has become coldly clear. The case of Castro should be an example for those who think that they can make capital out of playing the Soviet game. Nasser, with his astuteness of character, understood it and detached himself from the Moscow line. Nehru has had to learn the lesson in the hardest way. Sukarno has still not understood it."

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Brazil's O Globo's headlines read, "What has become of the auto-determination of the Cuban people....the confession that it is Moscow that decides on acts sovereign to Cuba." It continued, "The surprising decision of Khrushchev points up the coin in which the Communists remunerate the services of useful innocents. But, for that matter, the lesson of India should suffice."

Mexico City's Excelsior commented, "It is necessary to underscore the scorn demonstrated by the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union toward its Cuban lackey." In the same vein, moderate Novedades says: "Never has an American nation suffered such humiliation."

Radio El Reloj of San José, Costa Rica, in summarizing the dramatic events of the week said, [this is] "the beginning of the end of Fidel Castro as a heroic symbol of the Revolution in Latin America; [the beginning] of more respect for the United States throughout the world; and of more unity in the American continent against the threat posed by the Communist world."

Castro must go too

La Esfera of Caracas, Venezuela editorialized on page one yesterday, pointing out that "it would be a grave error to believe that with the dismantling of the missile bases in Cuba the conflict with communism in the Americas has been won." The editorial concluded with: "We agree that the USSR dismantle its missile bases in Cuba. But let us energetically demand that the Communist Regime in Cuba [also] be dismantled."

La Nación of Costa Rica declared editorially: "The problem which Cuba represents...is not going to be resolved with the dismantling of some installations. There is only one solution possible: to destroy the regime of Fidel in order that the Cuban people, in free elections, choose their own government."

According to an AFP release, President Lopez Mateos of Mexico has informed Cuban President Dorticos that "the Mexican government cannot look with indifference on the establishment in a Latin American country of the means necessary for making use of the most destructive weapons of all times." This is a strong statement for Mexico -- one of the five remaining Hemisphere countries which maintains diplomatic relations with Cuba.

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Popular support for Castro weakening

Scattered pro-Castro demonstrations continue to be ineffective. In an effort to recoup some of the popular following he lost during the past week, Castro has reportedly urged anti-US demonstrations in various countries. Pro-Castro manifestations in the Hemisphere have failed largely due to lack of popular support. In an editorial, the Bolivian daily La Nación pointed to the "complete failure [of pro-Castro demonstrations] because workers did not participate."

Cuban comment

Implying that the crisis has not passed, Radio Havana in English to North America stressed Castro's "five points that will guarantee the peace and lift the nightmare of a thermonuclear war." The newscast listed a series of incidents with which Havana attempted to prove lack of confidence in US assurances that the quarantine would be lifted, and lack of "faith in the promises of President Kennedy."

NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

Propaganda gains were scored by both the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the limited comment available from the Near East and South Asia would indicate. In NATO Greece and Turkey, in Cyprus and Israel, the United States has come out ahead for reasserting its leadership of the Western World, and, more importantly, for achieving a victory short of war. In India, the United States has gained some benefit from the confirmation by Khrushchev's letter of its claims that Cuba had become a Soviet missile base. Some Indian papers have pointed out that might rather than right was behind the American victory, however. Khrushchev tends to be the hero in Egyptian, Syrian and Iraqi media, although much of the credit for the negotiated settlement has been claimed for the nonaligned states.

Arab States and Israel

The role of nonaligned states in bringing about a negotiated solution to the Cuban crisis through the U.N. was stressed by Arab and Israeli media, which have now turned their major attention to domestic issues. In some countries media have combined the Cuban problem with their local preoccupations, as in Saudi Arabia, where Radio Mecca said Nasser had received "a stunning blow in the defeat of his friend and colleague in communism, Castro the dictator of Cuba."

In the UAR, Syria and Iraq, media concentrated on Khrushchev's conciliatory letter, his "heroism" and his "contribution to peace." Israeli media and some Lebanese newspapers took the U.S. viewpoint, although some Lebanese papers warned that Khrushchev still had "many tricks up his sleeve."

Radio Israel said that Khrushchev's retreat had been necessitated by American firmness. Influential Haaretz of Tel Aviv found the United States position as a leader of the Western World reconsolidated and Mr. Kennedy's position as leader of the American people strengthened.

South Asia

Two Pakistani editorials took differing positions on crediting Khrushchev with peaceful motives for his decision to dismantle the Cuban missile bases. Jang, although it paid tribute to both President Kennedy and Khrushchev, indicated that the Soviets were more peace-loving than the United States and called upon President Kennedy to demonstrate that the United States was in fact more peace-loving. Azad said that "President Kennedy has finally proved that Russia will not be allowed to poke her nose anywhere in the Western hemisphere....There is no reason to believe that Mr. Khrushchev would admit this greatest defeat of the post-revolutionary period only to preserve world peace if he had had the chance of victory through war."

Several Indian papers conclude that it was US might and determination that forced the Soviet hand. But the implications drawn by two of them were that it was a somewhat hollow 'victory' for the US. "Kennedy's mixture of legal nonsense and factual hardheadedness appear to have paid dividends," said the Indian Express. "In a world where right is still determined by might, the US might be said to have registered another victory," said the Free Press Journal, and went on to criticize US policies on Cuba. Navashakti commented that "Communist nations do not understand the language of morality. They only know the language of force."

The Mail termed the Soviet yielding a "major triumph" for President Kennedy, who "has shown absolute firmness...in dealing with Communists who understand only that language." The Hindu gave credit to both Kennedy and Khrushchev, saying, "The United States has justification for satisfaction that the President's firmness has paid off. But equally Mr. Khrushchev's statesmanship and realism have also contributed to easing of the crisis."

Non-Arab Middle East

The press in Greece, Turkey, Iran and Cyprus has expressed relief over Khrushchev's base-dismantling letter to President Kennedy. Although a few papers give partial praise to Khrushchev for his "prudence" in backing down, most editorials depict his decision as a victory for President Kennedy.

Both Eleftheria (Athens) and Son Posta (Istanbul) warn the West of continued dangers from the Communist Bloc. And Kathina ini calls for the removal of the "cancer-Communism" at "its early stage in the Western Hemisphere" before it is "transplanted" to other areas.

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Early reactions in Cyprus appear to be that the Communists have greatly lost ground, that the US and the West have gained importantly, and that the Communist deception-tactics have been unmasked. Some Cypriot papers have warned that Cyprus might well become "another Cuba" through Communist infiltration.

The Ankara daily Aksam bannered a story from its New York correspondent which allegedly quoted a "special statement" for Aksam by Ambassador Stevenson. Mr. Stevenson is said to have stated: "We firmly refused Soviet Premier Khrushchev's request for dismantling the bases in your country. President Kennedy had proposed dismantling the bases in Turkey last year. But the Turkish Government asked to keep them and refused this proposal."

FAR EAST

Front-page press reports continue to focus on UN-centered activities in the Cuban situation, while moderately heavy editorial reaction is devoted to the implications of Khrushchev's missile base dismantling decision. Allies of the West in the area clearly voiced their belief that U.S. prestige had risen -- and Soviet prestige had dropped -- as a result of the Administration's firm action and the Soviet retreat. Wariness toward future Soviet moves was voiced by commentators from the Philippines, Malaya, South Korea and Thailand, with comment from the latter two nations warning that Berlin may be next on the list. Japanese opinion, which was brimming with praise for all involved with the peaceful settlement of the crisis, looked ahead to the settlement of a number of cold war problems (e.g. disarmament and NATO-Warsaw Pact relations), as did more sanguine comment from South Korea and the Philippines.

Coverage

The area press has front-paged reports on the latest developments of the Cuban situation, centering on activities at the UN, but such coverage is beginning to drop off the front pages following the banner newsplay given Khrushchev's decision to dismantle the Cuban missile bases. Editorial comment is widespread and is devoted almost exclusively to an analysis of the implications of Khrushchev's decision. Up-to-date comment on Khrushchev's decision has yet to arrive from Southeast Asian neutrals, South Viet-Nam and Taiwan.

U.S. Prestige Gain

Media comment from Thailand, South Korea and the Philippines continued to be heavy with praise for the Administration's actions while clearly indicating the belief that U.S. prestige had been greatly increased by the Soviet "backdown". Chosun Ilbo (Seoul) thus opined that "no one except Khrushchev knows clearly why the Soviet

Premier chose surrender instead of concession, but it may safely be attributed to the resolute determination of the U.S. that the crisis has been checked, at this point at least". The belief that Soviet prestige had dropped was also fully evident in reaction from the above nations.

Similar praise for the role of President Kennedy was voiced by the conservative Tokyo Shimbun, which stated that "an important factor leading to the Soviet concession was the U.S. government's strong determination and action which indicated resort to force to neutralize Cuban bases if necessary". The pro-West Malayan Times (Kuala Lumpur) also noted the swift results of U.S. "power diplomacy" that caused "Mr. Khrushchev to back down again" and thus "ended the most dangerous phase of the Cuban crisis".

Wariness Toward Future Soviet Moves

Comment indicating strong distrust of the next move of the Soviet Union tended to be a distinctive part of most editorials -- with the exception of the Japanese -- attempting to analyze Khrushchev's retreat. A columnist in the Philippines Herald (Manila) noted that "it strikes us as rather strange that Khrushchev should have promptly and meekly bowed out of the Cuban showdown. It is not in the character of this crafty type to back out of a squeeze play without at least firing back a spirited salvo over his retreating shoulder", while the Malayan Times felt that there is "a catch somewhere in the 'good boy' image Mr. Khrushchev has suddenly tried to build up for himself".

The usually pro-West Straits Times (Kuala Lumpur), which admitted only that the President had won a "blockade" victory, advanced this feeling of distrust and wariness a step further when it predicted that "the next round will be tougher, more dangerous and perhaps more decisive". From this point, Thai and Korean dailies did not hesitate to warn that Berlin may be next on the Soviet timetable. Har uk Ilbo, a leading Seoul daily, flatly voiced the warning that "the cold war never dies away; rather it tends to modify its forms and quality. The next spot, Berlin, lies ahead of us". Similarly, but with greater assurance, Siam Nikorn (Bangkok) stated that "Khrushchev felt that he could use the Cuban threat as a thorn in the U.S. side to put an end to the Berlin issue", and while prompt U.S. action thwarted his designs, "...he will not abandon his original objective easily".

Pressure For East-West Negotiations

In the relatively relaxing atmosphere following the swift descent from the apex of the crisis, many commentators looked ahead to the solution of problems other than those of the Cuban missile sites. This was particularly true of Japanese editorialists, whose propensity to applaud a policy of "flexibility at any price", had led some to conclude that Khrushchev had strengthened "...his image in many circles as a 'man of peace'." Mainichi, the nation's number two paper, typically opined that "there are many problems existing between the two countries including those of Berlin and Germany, adjustment of relation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, nuclear arms, and disarmament, including the disposition of American bases abroad. The past negotiation on these questions have made little headway, but signs now appear that point to new negotiations. The opportunity should not be lost."

A minority of Philippine comment also looked ahead to the possibilities of progress on certain key cold war issues, with most emphasis given to the problem of nuclear disarmament. South Korean reaction indicated a similar pattern of thought along with its strong praise for the action of the Administration. Chosun Ilbo (Seoul) voiced the belief that the "experience gained from the Cuban crisis should be made to pave the way for solutions of all pending international problems", while Hanguk Ilbo (Seoul) opined that "both President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev will provide a turning point in the cold war history by solving one crisis after another, beginning with Cuba". The Korean reaction left no doubt, however, of the feeling that a hard line was the only way to handle successfully negotiations devoted to pending world issues.

Communist China: Peking has as yet offered no editorial comment on the Soviet concession to dismantle missile installations in Cuba. Media comment continues to echo the warning that the crisis in Cuba is far from over, while reiterating CPR support of the Cuban regime. Scattered demonstrations protesting U.S. action are receiving heavy NCNA coverage.

AFRICA

Scattered comment - available from only five areas - conflicts on the credits for the Cuba settlement but tends to be uniform in expressing hope that the U.S.-Soviet understanding will soon be extended to solve the problems of other third country bases, a nuclear test ban, and disarmament itself. Algerian and Malian comment remains pro-Cuban and hostile to the U.S.

Ghana's press and radio tends to credit the Cuba settlement to neutralist pressures - notably Ghana's. The Ghanaian Times (official) notes that the missile weapons were a source of tension but the paper continues to attack the legality and provocative nature of the American quarantine. Accra Radio on the 30th said that the Soviet dismantlement should be only the beginning of the removal of all foreign nuclear bases in the world.

The Sudanese press states or implies that Khrushchev is responsible for keeping the peace. Sample headlines: "Khrushchev Wins Battle for Peace"; "Khrushchev Brings World Back from Edge of Abyss." The government paper Ath-Thakira says the Cuban crisis will have been worthwhile if the big powers having listened to the demands of small states, will now move to the dismantlement of other bases and to a nuclear test ban.

Similar comment appears in Kenya's press. The Daily Nation (European-owned; African-edited) calls the crisis a blessing in disguise that may stimulate agreement on Berlin, NATO/Warsaw, and disarmament. The Nation pays tribute to Khrushchev's restraint and statesmanship but notes that he, not Kennedy, precipitated the crisis. Nigerian press comment has also reflected demands for the removal of third country bases. Algerian and Malian comment remains hostile to the U.S. and pro-Cuban in its orientation. Radio Algiers on the 29th carried a statement by its UNCA delegation member Messaoudi contending that the U.S. "blockade" was due not to Russian bases but to a pretense for the overthrow of the Cuban regime. If Americans feel the settlement was a defeat for Russia, says Messaoudi, "they only prove their ignorance for the Soviets are far from defeat; they gained world confidence and approval for their decision - just the opposite of America's foolish procedure." The statement ended with a suggestion that Castro should not permit the removal of arms - which were for his protection - until he receives an official U.S. guarantee.

SOVIET UNION

Three days ago, Moscow's "angry young man," poet Yev-tushenko, rhymed from Havana: "I heard Fidel speak -- Examination as searching as a doctor's or accuser's. In his words there was no shadow of shrill hatred, But with sadness he outlined the evil done." And: "I know the American people; they are good at heart. And I cannot say: 'To the devil with them and their fate.' It wounds me to see a mighty nation stoop to vile deeds."

This poem contained more propaganda lines than material currently available from Moscow. The output volume has now been reduced below the massive coverage of last week. What does appear still points up the apparent inability of the propaganda apparatus to take hold of a centrally approved line at a time when there is great need for it.

Media thus continue to hail Soviet policies, stressing that they constitute a "victory for reason and common sense." Propaganda is also marshalling indications that Khrushchev's actions are receiving world-wide approval. According to one domestic broadcast, even in America many citizens "understand well that it was only the restraint of the Soviet Union, which refused to let itself be provoked into military conflict, that halted those who contemplated military adventure against Cuba."

Yet the major lines remain hazy in the absence of more authoritative comment. Apparently nothing is being said, as of now, about the implementation of Khrushchev's dismantling pledge, nor has Moscow seconded Castro's continuing insistence on getting Guantanamo, or no deal. Also lacking from current output are further assurances to Cuba that the Soviet Union is firmly on its side.

There have been but faint echoes so far of an earlier tentative line suggesting potential propaganda pressure at some future date to salvage something out of the rapidly abandoned bases-swap proposal. A regional domestic broadcast stressed first of all that Khrushchev was sincere in his promise to dismantle the bases under U.N. supervision and ship weapons and personnel back to the USSR. Then the broadcast adds: "It would be good of the U.S. if it would reciprocate by evacuating its bases from Turkish territory, as all peoples are requesting."

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Khrushchev who had shown exceptional "wisdom, tact and foresight." Khrushchev's instructions for dismantling Soviet missile bases in Cuba were explained to Bulgarian listeners -- and for that matter to most of the Satellite listeners -- in connection with President Kennedy's "solemn declaration before the entire world" that the United States had "renounced the idea of invading Cuba." Radio Sofia also announced that President Kennedy had expressed "unconditional readiness" to consider ways of decreasing tension in the relations between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA Czechoslovak media have adopted the argument that Premier Khrushchev's decision to withdraw missiles from Cuba is a Soviet victory because the mutual guarantees stipulated in the Khrushchev-Kennedy exchange are "what the Soviet Government wanted right from the beginning." "The historic credit for the happy ending of the Cuban crisis," according to the press, "goes to Nikita Khrushchev and to the Soviet Government," a fact that even President Kennedy "has been compelled" to acknowledge.

Referring to the future, Radio Prague stated that "the next step is the liquidation of U.S. and NATO foreign bases and the question of complete and general disarmament."

EAST GERMANY A new angle was introduced yesterday in the Soviet zone's propaganda, namely, that Khrushchev had stated that, according to "the desire of the Cuban Government, the defensive weapons stationed in Cuba will be withdrawn." This first reference in Communist mass media that Cuba "had a say" in the decision to dismantle Soviet missile bases on Cuban territory was probably intended to repair some of the damage caused to Castro and his prestige. A number of East German commentators also see in the present easing of the Cuban crisis a possibility of "rapprochement" on several burning issues. But, while a "rapprochement" has been suggested on questions such as disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear arms the elimination of bases on foreign territory, etc., no mention has yet been made for solving the Berlin question.

EUROPEAN SATELLITES

Although reduced in quantity, Satellite media output on the Cuban crisis continues to run high. Emphasis is heaviest on the "victory" of the Soviet policy of peace. As evidence of this triumph, much is being made of President Kennedy's "commitment" to guarantee the future security of Cuba. Due largely, it appears, to the uncertain course of Soviet policy and propaganda, Satellite output has been unable to adopt a common front or to agree on the relative urgency of other unsettled international problems. Radio Prague stated that the next step should be the "liquidation of U.S. and NATO foreign bases." And "informed observers in Warsaw" were expecting a step-up of Soviet pressure over Berlin. The media of other Satellite countries have not gone much beyond calls for disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

POLAND

While material on further reactions from Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Albania is lacking at this time, Arthur J. Olsen's special to the New York Times this morning reveals that, "according to informed observers" in Warsaw, the Poles expect a step-up in Soviet pressure for a settlement of the Berlin question. The reasons adduced for this line of thinking lie in Khrushchev's need to show to the pro-Chinese and Stalinist "hard-liners" in the Soviet leadership that he, too, can be tough, and thus to dwarf the imminent attacks on his much too peaceful policy in the Cuban crisis. Whether this reasoning is correct is hard to assess. It may well stem from the Polish preoccupation with Berlin, and the German problem as a whole, which has been continuously presented by the Polish propaganda media as the most vital problem in international relations.

BULGARIA

With the apparent easing of the Cuban crisis, Radio Sofia, which has shown an unusual restraint and caution until now, started suddenly to use epithets and abusive language. Thus, it said that the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence had achieved a remarkable "victory" over the American "monopolies, producers of weapons, democrat racists, rightwing republicans, various generals," and others. The merit for defeating those "thirsty for blood and dollars" elements, according to the radio, "belonged primarily" to the Soviet Union and

RUMANIA

In keeping with the example set by other Bloc media, the Party organ, Scinteia, on October 29 published the texts of the President's letter and statement of October 27 and 28, respectively, with comment restricted to the headline. This read: "We are convinced that reason will triumph, that peace and security of peoples will be assured." This optimism was also reflected in the paper's news items on foreign reactions. The previously heavy reportage on country-wide protest meetings now appears to have been substantially curtailed.

YUGOSLAVIA

Summing up the most recent developments in the Cuban situation, Radio Belgrade has informed its listeners that "the worst week in post-war history is now past." Credit for solving the crisis, it said, belongs first of all to Khrushchev, then to President Kennedy, and last but not least to the non-aligned countries "which made unprecedented efforts to save the world from catastrophe." Belgrade media added that the situation will soon be completely normalized if Western circles do not interpret recent Soviet actions as "a sign of weakness." According to the Yugoslav News Agency TANJUG, "it would be realistic to expect the statesmen of the two powers to approach the settlement of other world problems with the same amount of realism and reasonableness." A nuclear test ban was mentioned as a first possible issue which may be considered in the future talks.